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Meeting Our Nation's Resource Needs

SPEECH
OF

HON. JAMES E. MURRAY

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, August 17, 1959

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, I am today introducing a bill designated as the Resources and Conservation Act of 1960. It is gratifying that so many Senators have already joined as cosponsors. Because I have received additional expressions of interest from Senators who have not had time to examine the bill, I ask that it lie on the desk for 3 days to permit additional Senators to join as cosponsors.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill will lie on the desk for 3 days, as requested by the Senator from Montana.

The bill (S. 2549) to declare a national policy on conservation, development, and utilization of natural resources, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. MURRAY (for himself and Senators BARTLETT, BIBLE, BYRD of West Virginia, CANNON, CARROLL, CHURCH, CLARK, DODD, DOUGLAS, ENGLE, GRUENING, HART, HENNING, HUMPHREY, JOHNSON of Texas, LANGER, MAGNUSON, MANSFIELD, MCCARTHY, McGEE, MORSE, MOSS, NEUBERGER, RANDOLPH, SPARKMAN, SYMINGTON, YARBOROUGH, and YOUNG of North Dakota) was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, this proposed legislation is directed to keeping development and conservation of natural resources at a level commensurate with the needs of the Nation. There is urgent need for such legislation because all aspects of natural resource programs lag far behind the requirements for them. With respect to some resources, our condition is critical, and underdevelopment of virtually all resources threatens the national security and the welfare and prosperity of the Nation.

This critical condition exists not because of a lack of resources, but because of a lack of attention and action. In the United States, even after the drain of two World Wars, we still are blessed with abundance of virtually all of the basic raw materials we need. Within

our borders, there are still forests and rangelands, fertile farms, minerals, fuels, and the waters of our rivers and lakes. Properly developed and wisely conserved, these natural resources can be adequate for a growing population and for an expanded economy.

The present problem and the impending crisis are due not to scarcity but to neglect, underdevelopment, and despoilment. For too many years we have avoided resource problems and denied our responsibility as steward of the national resources wealth. For the past 7 years, the administration has been looking the other way and living by the rule of "no new starts" no matter how urgently they were needed. While natural resource programs have been suspended, natural resources have been dissipated. The administration's policy of "no new starts" represents lost income and lost production and, most serious of all, it represents lost time and lost opportunities that may never be regained.

Even a brief review of natural resource programs reveals neglect and deficiency. Take, for example, water resource development, which everyone recognizes as an indispensable requirement. The Department of Commerce recently has reported that, in order to keep up with requirements, Federal water resource expenditures of at least \$50 billion are needed in the next 15 years. In contrast with this need, actual Federal expenditures for water resources are barely \$1 billion a year. Thus, we are doing less than a third of this essential water resources job. Current Federal budgets for these activities provide for hardly one-half as much work as was provided in 1950. In that year, the expenditures for water resource activities were 2½ percent of the total budget, but in 1960 they are only 1½ percent of the budget. This is the evidence of the neglect that I mentioned.

Let us look briefly at forest resources, especially those within national forests for which there is express Federal responsibility. A recent report of the Secretary of Agriculture estimates that national forests need over \$1½ billion of improvement work. This is the cost of facilities for timber management, fire protection, recreation, and like programs to protect the forests and to make them usable. Responsive to congressional

urging, a start has been made on the program for the national forests, but it is a saddeningly slow start. This is the lost time and lost opportunities that I mentioned.

In the field of soil and moisture conservation, 2 million farmers and ranchers cooperate in the program, but hardly one-fourth of the needed treatments have been installed to protect the half-billion acres of agricultural land. In addition, there are over 6,000 small watersheds that need conservation treatment, but work has been started on only 3 percent of them.

Each year sees our streams and rivers increasingly loaded with pollution, the quality of their water degraded below tolerable limits, and their burden of waste materials clogging sanitation plants or washed up on the shores of parks and beaches. Sewage plants are needed to handle the waste discharge of 48 million people, and it will cost \$4½ billion to build them, but the Federal budget for this is only \$30 million per year. Municipalities spend 10 times as much as the amount of the Federal contribution for pollution control; but, although this is a severe burden on local finances, it is far short of keeping up with municipal growth.

So we might inventory each of the other natural resources—minerals, hydroelectric power, recreation, and wildlife. For each of them, the sad story is the same—too little, too late.

The neglect and deficiencies of the Federal activities are doubly hurtful because, to a major degree, Federal programs pace the non-Federal activities. When Federal programs are delayed and deficient, State and private activities fall behind. The pollution of the Potomac River at the very steps of the Capitol is an example. With timely and appropriate Federal assistance, the States, the municipalities, and the industries might have minimized the problem largely by their own efforts. Lacking Federal encouragement and initiative, control of Potomac River pollution has been so long delayed that its cure may not be possible within the foreseeable future.

In conservation and development of most of the natural resources, the Federal Government has participated jointly with States and private interests. This has been true for reclamation, rural electrification, soil conservation, and

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wildlife management almost from their start. The past half century has clearly established that the Federal responsibility to provide for the national security and to promote the general welfare includes conservation and development of natural resources. To this end, the Congress seeks to assist and work in concert with the States and local governments and private interests. But in meeting this responsibility, how well do we now measure up to the forward-looking standards set by the Senate in 1807 when it instituted an inquiry into the improvement of inland waterways? I fear that we may not measure up very well.

On this question, let us again examine water resources: Between now and 1975, about \$50 billion will have to be spent for plant and equipment to provide water and sewage services to the growing urban population. The consensus is that municipalities do not have the financial resources to raise any such amount of money. We know, for example, that since 1952, State and local government debt has increased 100 percent, and there is very little leeway under State constitutions to issue bonds in the amounts needed for such a huge program. How, then, will the job get done, to whom will they turn, and what sort of assistance might be available? Comparable questions face us for all of the natural resources—how much needs to be done by the Federal, State, local governments, and by private industry? What means do they have for accomplishing their share of the total job, and what forms of assistance can most effectively be provided?

In 1945, when millions of men and women were released from the Armed Forces and when production of arms and munitions released more millions of workers, we faced grave and complex problems of how 60 million workers could find jobs, and how the economy could finance such expansion of peacetime production. At that time, it was my privilege, joined by the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. O'MAHONEY], former Senator Wagner, and former Senator Thomas, of Utah, to introduce Senate bill 380 of the 79th Congress, and on February 20, 1946, to see it enacted as the Employment Act of 1946.

The measure that I have introduced today, the Resources and Conservation Act of 1960, is comparable in form and structure with the Employment Act. It seeks for natural resources answers to problems comparable with the employment and economic problems dealt with in the 1946 act. Our experience with that act assures that the method is workable. It demonstrates that the combination of the Council of Economic Advisers in the White House and the joint committee in the Congress can be effective in developing answers for complex problems of national concern, and that the combination is effective in implementing the answers with legislative and executive action.

Even with the advantage of the 1946 act as a model for this one, it is far from being the final form. Many im-

provements will be made in the bill as a result of hearings and committee discussions. I hope that there will be full hearings, including field hearings. These should bring to the committee the thinking of all interests concerned in natural resource conservation and development. What we are striving for, in my view, is to establish a permanent mechanism in Government that will give continuous attention to the entire range of natural resources, and that will periodically advise the President and the Congress what is needed and how to attain it.

Recent sessions of Congress have generated a series of commissions and committees to evaluate and recommend regarding certain natural resource problems. Outstanding among these special bodies is the Commission on Outdoor Recreational Resources and the Select Committee on National Water Resources. These two bodies are marked by the high caliber of their distinguished membership. Their reports will, I am confident, contribute significantly to understanding of the subjects.

These recent special bodies unfortunately are limited, as were ones that preceded them—the Paley Commission and the Cooke Commission. These two commissions are, in my judgment, outstanding in delineating the problems and in pointing to the solutions for major natural resource problems. They have inaugurated a new era in public policy on natural resources. Unfortunately, the Paley Commission and the Cooke Commission, like the Hoover Commissions and other previous and current resource commissions, are transitory. Their reports, containing much sound thinking and meritorious proposals, all too soon became library items rather than charters of action. Our experience with commission reports is that they generate very little action after the dissolution of the commission that authored them.

In contrast, the Council of Economic Advisers and the Joint Economic Committee are continuing arms of Government. Neither of them administer any programs; they do not issue regulations or operate facilities. They are effective because, in the executive branch and in the Congress, there are continuing expert bodies that appraise, evaluate, and recommend. The importance of this is exemplified by the valuable contributions and leadership provided by the Joint Economic Committee.

Faced with the same kind of grave and complex questions in all of our natural resources, we need similar continuing bodies in the Congress and in the executive branch. It is important for us to recognize that the grave and complex resource problems facing us now will continue to face us for a long time.

This need for continuing appraisal of natural resource conditions and problems was recognized in the reports of the special commissions just mentioned. Mr. William S. Paley has called to my attention the final recommendation of the President's Materials Policy Commission of which he was Chairman:

That the National Security Resources Board be directed, and provided with adequate funds, to collect in one place the facts, analyses, and program plans of other agencies on materials and energy problems and related technological and special security problems; to evaluate materials programs and policies in all these fields; to recommend appropriate action for the guidance of the President, the Congress, and the executive agencies; and to report annually to the President on the long-term outlook for materials with emphasis on significant new problems that emerge, major changes in outlook, and modifications of policy or program that appear necessary.

Although this recommendation was deficient in provision for congressional participation, its general objectives parallels closely the purpose of the proposed Resources and Conservation Act.

This recommendation carries weight because of the high competence of the Materials Policy Commission and the acknowledged excellence of the report. The bill that I have introduced, in many respects, has the same objectives as this commission proposal.

These considerations are important now because the United States is on the threshold of enormous population and economic growth. All Senators, I am sure, are familiar with the estimates of a 25-percent increase in population during the next 15 years, a 60-percent increase in gross national product, and a 100-percent increase in the index of manufactures. I shall not elaborate on these forecasts other than to express my belief that they are too conservative, that national growth actually will exceed these estimates. Whatever figures are chosen, it is plain that, in the years ahead, the requirements for resources and the pressures on them will continue to amount, that competition for all resources will intensify, and that there will be increasing need for examination, appraisal, and recommendations of the Resources and Conservation Council and joint committee.

In the face of this increasing requirement for, and pressure on, natural resources, I am not fearful that we shall fail to meet the Nation's needs. Certainly the United States will have the economic and financial ability for the tasks involved, and we have the skills and competence.

We have learned, however, that there are two other essential elements. One of these is that our action must be timely—if we overlook or delay needed measures we may greatly increase the problems, or even defeat the possibility of their solution. The continuing appraisal and the periodic reports of the joint committee will assure such timely attention.

The other essential element is that our actions must be considered ones—in dealing with natural resources, our actions must take account of the close interrelations and interdependence of all of the resources. Utilization of timber or water or mineral resources affects many other uses; often recreation and wildlife values may be either enhanced or destroyed depending on how other resources are handled. In some cases, a

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careful appraisal may show that preservation of certain resources yields greater benefits than would their exploitation.

Recognizing the interrelationships of the various factors, this proposed legislation provides that all resources shall be considered in the findings and recommendations of the Council and Joint Committee. This becomes increasingly important as requirements increase and as pressures mount. With that certain prospect, it becomes ever more essential that all resources be considered in their relations to each other as well as to the economy as a whole.

These very matters are recognized in the 1959 Joint Economic Report. I commend the Joint Economic Committee and its distinguished chairman [Mr. Douglas] for the cogent and well-founded comment in the report. Most especially, I commend and endorse the statement of the Joint Economic Committee that it would be fiscally irresponsible to refuse, on budget-balancing considerations, to increase Federal outlays on developing our natural resources. In order that this excellent statement on "Developing Resources" may be available to Senators, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed at the conclusion of my remarks.

Mr. President, I have touched on many points, but much more consideration of them is necessary because of the tremendous importance of natural resources to the welfare and prosperity of the Nation and to the national security. In order that Senators may have ready access to the matter, I ask unanimous consent that the text of the bill and the explanatory statement be printed at the conclusion of my remarks.

There being no objection, the excerpt, text of bill, and explanation were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

DEVELOPING RESOURCES

(Excerpt from 1959 Joint Economic Report—Report of the Joint Economic Committee, Congress of the United States—S. Rept. 98, 86th Cong., 1st sess.)

Federal programs to expand the Nation's natural resource base should be carefully reviewed in the light of the future demands of an expanding economy. As the Subcommittee on Fiscal Policy observed in its report, "Federal Expenditure Policies for Economic Growth and Stability":

"Such programs long ago were established as appropriate activities of the Federal Government where their objective is to eliminate barriers or to provide the stimulus for fuller, more effective resource use and where the means required for realizing these objectives exceed the financial capacity of immediate beneficiaries. Whether any specific project is to be undertaken * * * should be determined by appraisal of measurable economic benefits in comparison with the project's cost."

Following this principle precludes, except under extraordinary circumstances, a flat proscription, such as that in the budget for fiscal 1960, of any new starts in this area. What is called for, instead, is the closest possible examination of present and prospective programs to determine those promising the greatest net yields. If the results of such a survey call for increasing Federal outlays on developing our natural resources, it would be fiscally irresponsible to refuse

their undertaking on the basis of narrow budget-balancing considerations.

At the present time, moreover, there are numerous opportunities for expansion of economically sound natural resource development and public works projects in areas of high and persistent unemployment. These projects can serve the dual purpose of improving the conditions for longrun economic growth and of spurring recovery over the next 18 months.

A BILL TO DECLARE A NATIONAL POLICY ON CONSERVATION, DEVELOPMENT, AND UTILIZATION OF NATURAL RESOURCES, AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SHORT TITLE

SECTION 1. This Act may be cited as the "Resources and Conservation Act of 1960."

DECLARATION POLICY

SEC. 2. The Congress hereby declares that it is the continuing policy and responsibility of the Federal Government with the assistance and cooperation of industry, agriculture, labor, conservationists, State and local governments, and private property owners, to use all practicable means including coordination and utilization of all its plans, functions, and facilities, for the purpose of creating and maintaining, in a manner calculated to foster and promote the general welfare, conditions under which there will be conservation, development, and utilization of the natural resources of the Nation to meet human, economic, and national defense requirements, including recreational, wildlife, scenic, and scientific values and the enhancement of the national heritage for future generations.

RESOURCES AND CONSERVATION REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

SEC. 3. (a) The President shall transmit to the Congress not later than January 20 of each year (commencing with the year following enactment of this Act) a conservation report (hereinafter called the "Resources and Conservation Report") setting forth (1) the condition of the soil, water, forest, grazing, wildlife, recreational, and other natural resources with particular reference to attainment of multiple purpose use; (2) current and foreseeable trends in management and utilization of the aforesaid natural resources; (3) the adequacy of available natural resources for fulfilling human and economic requirements of the Nation; (4) a review of the conservation programs and activities of the Federal Government, the State and local governments, and nongovernmental entities and individuals with particular reference to their effect on full conservation, development, and utilization of natural resources; (5) a program for carrying out the policy declared in section 2, together with such recommendations for legislation as he may deem necessary or desirable.

(b) The President may transmit from time to time to the Congress reports supplementary to the Resources and Conservation Reports, each of which shall include such supplementary or revised recommendations as he may deem necessary or desirable to achieve the policy declared in section 2.

(c) The Resources and Conservation Report, and all supplementary reports transmitted under subsection (b), shall, when transmitted to Congress, be referred to the joint committee created by section 5.

COUNCIL OF RESOURCES AND CONSERVATION ADVISERS TO THE PRESIDENT

SEC. 4. (a) There is hereby created in the Executive Office of the President a Council of Resources and Conservation Advisers (hereinafter called the "Council"). The

Council shall be composed of three members who shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and each of whom shall be a person who, as a result of his training, experience, and attainments, is exceptionally qualified to analyze and interpret natural resource policy, to appraise programs and activities of the Government in the light of the policy declared in section 2, and to formulate and recommend national resource policy to promote conservation, development, and utilization of natural resources. Each member of the Council shall receive compensation at the rate of \$ per annum. The President shall designate one of the members of the Council as Chairman and one as Vice Chairman, who shall act as Chairman in the absence of the Chairman.

(b) The Council is authorized to employ, and fix the compensation of, such specialists and other experts as may be necessary for the carrying out of its functions under this Act, without regard to the civil service laws and the Classification Act of 1923, as amended, and is authorized, subject, to the civil service laws, to employ such other officers and employees as may be necessary for carrying out its functions under this Act, and fix their compensation in accordance with the Classification Act of 1923, as amended.

(c) It shall be the duty and function of the Council—

(1) to assist and advise the President in the preparation of the Resources and Conservation Report;

(2) to gather timely and authoritative information concerning natural resource conservation and development trends, both current and prospective, to analyze and interpret such information in the light of the policy declared in section 2 for the purpose of determining whether such development and trends are interfering, or are likely to interfere, with the achievement of such policy, and to compile and submit to the President studies relating to such development and trends;

(3) to appraise the various programs and activities of the Federal Government in the light of the policy declared in section 2 for the purpose of determining the extent to which such programs and activities are contributing, and the extent to which they are not contributing, to the achievement of such policy, and to make recommendations to the President with respect thereto;

(4) to develop and recommend to the President national policies to foster and promote conservation, development, and utilization of the natural resources of the Nation to meet human and economic requirements, including recreational, wildlife, and scenic values.

(5) to make and furnish such studies, reports thereon, and recommendations with respect to matters of Federal resource policy and legislation as the President may request.

(d) The Council shall make an annual report to the President in December of each year.

(e) In exercising its powers, functions, and duties under this Act—

(1) the Council may constitute such advisory committees and may consult with such representatives of industry, agriculture, labor, conservationists, State and local government, and other groups, as it deems advisable;

(2) the Council shall, to the fullest extent possible, utilize the services, facilities, and information (including statistical information) of other Government agencies as well as of private research agencies, in order that duplication of effort and expense may be avoided.

(f) To enable the Council to exercise its powers, functions, and duties under this Act, there are authorized to be appropriated (ex-

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cept for the salaries of the members and the salaries of officers and employees of the Council) such sums as may be necessary. For the salaries of the members and the salaries of officers and employees of the Council, there is authorized to be appropriated not exceeding \$ _____ in the aggregate for each fiscal year.

JOINT COMMITTEE ON RESOURCES AND CONSERVATION

SEC. 5. (a) There is hereby established a Joint Committee on Resources and Conservation, to be composed of eight Members of the Senate, to be appointed by the President of the Senate, and eight Members of the House of Representatives, to be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives. The party representation on the joint committee shall as nearly as may be feasible to reflect the relative membership of the majority and minority parties in the Senate and House of Representatives.

(b) It shall be the function of the joint committee—

(1) to make a continuing study of matters relating to the Resources and Conservation Report;

(2) to study means of coordinating programs in order to further the policy of this Act; and

(3) as a guide to the several committees of the Congress dealing with legislation relating to the Resources and Conservation Report, not later than May 1 of each year (beginning with the year following the enactment of this Act) to file a report with the Senate and the House of Representatives containing its findings and recommendations with respect to each of the main recommendations made by the President in the Resources and Conservation Report, and from time to time to make such other reports and recommendations to the Senate and House of Representatives as it deems advisable.

(c) Vacancies in the membership of the joint committee shall not affect the power of the remaining members to execute the functions of the joint committee, and shall be filled in the same manner as in the case of the original selection. The joint committee shall select a chairman and a vice chairman from among its members.

(d) The joint committee, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized to hold such hearings as it deems advisable, and, within the limitations of its appropriations, the joint committee is empowered to appoint and fix the compensation of such experts, consultants, technicians, and clerical and stenographic assistants, to procure such printing and binding, and to make such expenditures, as it deems necessary and advisable. The cost of stenographic services to report hearings of the joint committee, or any subcommittee thereof, shall not exceed twenty-five per hundred words. The joint committee is authorized to utilize the services, information, and facilities of the departments and establishments of the Government, and also of private research agencies.

(e) There is hereby authorized to be appropriated for each fiscal year, the sum of \$ _____, or so much thereof as may be necessary, to carry out the provisions of this section, to be disbursed by the Secretary of the Senate on vouchers signed by the chairman or vice chairman.

EXPLANATION OF RESOURCES AND CONSERVATION OF 1960

Section 1: The title of the act, "Resources and Conservation Act of 1960," provides a ready reference that is fully descriptive of the subject matter of the act.

Section 2: The declaration of policy states explicitly the policy that has long been inherent in the acts of Congress that give effect to its constitutional responsibility "to pro-

vide for the common defense and general welfare." Policy is explicitly stated in some of the many acts dealing with natural resources, such as the 1935 Soil and Moisture Conservation Act, and the 1936 Flood Control Act. Hundreds of other acts, by their very nature and by their administration over many years, constitute a national policy on natural resources. This body of policy in its general application is summarized in section 2 of the bill.

Four important principles are stated in the policy. One of these is that there is a Federal responsibility and concern in the conservation, development, and utilization of natural resources which are means of providing for the general welfare and the national defense. A second principle is that the general program for natural resources will be developed in cooperation with State and local governments, and citizens, and with industry, agriculture, labor, conservationists, and private property owners. A third principle is that the objectives of conservation, development, and utilization are to meet human, economic, and national defense requirements, including those for recreational, wildlife, scientific, and scenic values, along with recognition of our obligations to preserve the natural resources inheritance for future generations. A fourth principle is that the Federal concern with natural resources pervades its manifold activities and requires their coordination in relation to natural resources.

Section 3: The Resources and Conservation Report of the President will be an annual appraisal of the condition of natural resources, and the progress in their conservation, development, and utilization. It will also bring to focus the problems and the needed action, with recommendations in the light of current and foreseeable future trends of management and utilization. This annual review will take account of the programs and activities of the Federal Government, and also those of the State and local governments and nongovernmental entities and individuals. The report deals with all of the natural resources—soil, water, forest, grazing, mineral, wildlife, and recreational resources—thus providing an integrated basis for interrelated programs and objectives.

The Resources and Conservation Report is the vehicle by which the President advises the Congress and the public of the views and recommendations of the executive branch on overall resources and conservation matters. Being an annual report, it can reflect current and changing conditions and concepts.

In addition, the President may make supplementary reports or revised recommendations as he deems appropriate.

Section 4: A Council of three resources and conservation advisors will advise and assist the President in the development of the comprehensive overall appraisal of natural resource programs and problems and in the formulation of his recommendations. The advisors will be appointed by the President, subject to confirmation by the Senate, and they are required to be qualified by training, experience, and attainments in the field of natural resources. The Council will be assisted by specialists and experts employed outside of the civil service, and by other employees subject to the civil service laws. The Council may establish advisory committees and consult with representatives of State and local governments, and citizens, and with industry, agriculture, labor, conservationists, and other groups, and it will utilize, to the fullest extent possible, the facilities and information of Government and private research agencies.

The Council of Advisors is fact finding and fact analyzing. It has no functions in the administration or execution of programs, these functions remaining the responsibilities of the regular executive agencies.

Section 5: The Joint Committee on Resources and Conservation is constituted of eight Members of the Senate and eight Members of the House of Representatives, with party representation proportional to the majority and minority parties in the Senate and the House of Representatives respectively.

This joint committee makes continuing study of the Resources and Conservation Report of the President, and of other means of coordinating resources and conservation programs in furtherance of the policies stated in section 2. Annually, the joint committee reports to the Senate and the House of Representatives its findings on the recommendations of the President and on such other resources and conservation matters as it deems advisable. The joint committee may hold hearings, and it may employ experts, consultants, and other staff.

The joint committee is advisory to the Senate and the House of Representatives. It has no legislative functions, these remaining the responsibilities of the established standing committees.

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MURRAY. I yield.

Mr. McGEE. I commend to the attention of my colleagues in the Senate the importance of the measure which the senior Senator from Montana is introducing.

At a time when we in America are concerned about the economic growth of our country, we might well undertake this study of the promotion of the conservation of all the Nation's resources. I believe that America outran the rest of the world about 65 or 70 years ago by reason of our rapid accumulation of surplus capital. The reason for that surplus of capital, which turned out to be the difference between our economic growth and that of our competitors around the world, was the great abundance of American resources. These resources were used to the full benefit of the entire Nation.

I suggest, in pursuit of the proposal of the senior Senator from Montana today, that the time has come when our country can turn again to the development of our resources as the provider and creator of a new surplus capital which will enable us to maintain the pace which the burdens of world leadership now require.

We cannot do this with "no new starts," or without an understanding of the slow processes of developing new resources. We do not bring in new resources overnight. We do not bring in new resources because of an act of Congress. We bring them in only through foresight and careful planning.

The legislation proposed by the senior Senator from Montana demonstrates that kind of foresight. I commend it to the attention of all our colleagues in the Senate.

Mr. MURRAY. I thank the Senator from Wyoming.

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MURRAY. I yield.

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, I should like to join in commending the distinguished senior Senator from Montana, the chairman of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, for having taken the leadership in fashioning and introducing this bill.

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I believe this to be landmark legislation which will be looked upon in future years as of signal importance in promoting the wise conservation and development of the public resources of this country. I submit that in introducing this bill the distinguished senior Senator from Montana demonstrates once again the leadership he has always exhibited in this field, which has always been in the tradition of Theodore Roosevelt and Gifford Pinchot.

I am hopeful that the Senator will be successful in acquiring additional cosponsors, and that next year we shall see the bill reported favorably by the committee and acted upon favorably by the entire Senate.

Mr. MURRAY. I thank the Senator from Idaho for his generous expressions. Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MURRAY. I yield.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. I am happy to have the privilege of being a cosponsor of this bill with the distinguished Senator from Montana.

As has been so well said by the junior Senator from Wyoming and the junior Senator from Idaho, this is a landmark bill, looking toward the conservation and development of the resources of the United States for the people of the United States as leaders of the free world.

When the Senate comes to consider this measure to establish a Resources Advisory Council, we should consider two other measures, passed within the past 2 years, which may have a profound influence on the way of life of all our people.

One of these measures was the weather modification bill of 1958. That bill was based upon scientific testimony that within the foreseeable future we shall be able to do something about modifying the weather in certain areas of the globe.

The other measure to which I refer, which has been passed, provides for the establishment of stations to study methods of taking salt out of sea water and salt water from underground wells. We are far along in that type of advance. We may soon see fresh water taken from the sea and from underground salt water supplies, at a cost which will make it practical for agricultural uses.

So with these two measures, the weather modification measure and the desalination measure, already written into law, we see clearly pointed out the need for developing all the resources of the Nation. I commend the Senator from Montana for his leadership in this important field.

Mr. MURRAY. I sincerely thank the Senator from Texas.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MURRAY. I yield.

Mr. MORSE. I congratulate the distinguished senior Senator from Montana for another great act of statesmanship in the field of natural resources development. I have checked his bill, and I consider it an honor to join with him as a cosponsor.

We are going through a rather interesting period in the Congress in con-

nection with the development of natural resources. If we check back on the legislative history of natural resource development, we discover that it swings somewhat as a pendulum swings. Last year, and again this year, Congress has not lived up to its responsibilities in regard to natural resource development, with respect to protecting the interests of future generations.

We are trustees of the natural resources of this country, and we need to do a better job than Congress did last year, or has done thus far this year, in developing a natural resources program.

I believe that the objectives of the bill of the Senator from Montana will be very helpful in making the Congress more cognizant of its trusteeship obligations in regard to our natural resources.

Mr. MURRAY. I thank the Senator for his very kind and cogent remarks. I am very grateful to him for his expressions.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MURRAY. I yield.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I wish to join in what the distinguished senior Senator from Oregon and other colleagues in the Senate have said about the consistent leadership shown by the senior Senator from Montana, who has indicated on so many occasions that his thinking is not merely abreast of the times, but is ahead of the times. The facts have borne out his foresight over the years.

It is interesting to note that this subject was discussed at the conference of western Senators a week or so ago, at which there were present 23 western Senators. The proposal was unanimously approved by that conference, including Senators from Texas, Oklahoma, and Alaska.

This is another indication of the leadership which the senior Senator from Montana has consistently shown. I hope we shall be able to have action shortly on this important measure.

Mr. MURRAY. I thank my colleague very much.

Mr. HART. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MURRAY. I yield.

Mr. HART. Mr. President, as a freshman Senator, I welcome this opportunity to offer my appreciation to the senior Senator from Montana for his many years of great leadership in this body. Unfailingly and consistently he has recognized in advance the needs of this Nation and its people; he has offered imaginative, far-reaching measures designed to meet those needs.

It is my privilege to join today with Senator MURRAY in sponsoring the Resources and Conservation Act of 1960. On July 9 I stated on the Senate floor in connection with the TVA financing bill that it would be my policy to support measures for the economic growth of the Nation as a whole. The Resources and Conservation Act of 1960 is such a bill. I stated further that it would be my purpose to help obtain for the north central and northeastern areas of the country the water-resources programs so badly needed in these sections. The Re-

sources and Conservation Act of 1960 provides just such opportunity.

The coordinating feature of this bill may well turn out to be its greatest contribution. It would enable the executive branch and the Congress to examine our resource and conservation needs, nationwide, as a whole; and it would enable us to plan to meet those needs in a coordinated fashion. The sewage, water supply, and recreational needs of the East would be considered alongside the reclamation and irrigation needs of the West. We would have presented to us for study and action the total picture in one piece.

Consider the present battery of Federal control centers: In the executive branch, there are 16 agencies spread around 6 Departments—Defense; Agriculture; Health, Education, and Welfare; State; Commerce; Interior—one independent corporation—TVA—and two international commissions—International Boundary and Water Commission, United States and Mexico, and the International Joint Commission, United States and Canada—charged with carrying out various Federal water policies, and this excludes power and some specialized interests in water. In addition, of course, the Bureau of the Budget exercises its own particular authority in this field. The Senate too has four standing committees with major interest in resources and conservation. Clearly, we would all benefit from the overall look which this bill would provide.

Mr. President, every area of the country has its own particular needs in terms of resources and conservation. I welcome this evidence that the needs of the north central and northeastern sections will be considered together with the needs of the West and the South. And I particularly applaud the determination evidenced by this bill to wrap the Nation's development program into one package to which we can all address ourselves.

Again, I salute the senior Senator from Montana for this typical demonstration of concern for America and Americans in years ahead.

Mr. MURRAY. I thank the Senator from Michigan.

A National Policy on Conservation Development Is Desirable and Necessary

SPEECH
OF

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, August 17, 1959

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, more than a quarter of a century ago I had the privilege of meeting the senior Senator from Montana [Mr. MURRAY]. During the years my admiration for him has been strengthened. It is a privilege to join as a cosponsor of the legislation, which is now under discussion. It is characteristic of Senator MURRAY's devotion to the national welfare that he

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would sponsor this program which looks to the benefit of generations yet unborn.

In its essence, Mr. President, this bill addresses the fundamental issue of whether we will adopt long-range planning as a means of sustaining our level of civilization. The American people have been singularly blessed with a continent rich in natural resources. For almost 300 years, with a growing but still relatively small population, we could afford to squander our resources. But that time has long since passed.

With the administration of President Theodore Roosevelt we first became aware as a nation of the need for the conservation of our resources. Since his death in 1919, more of the earth's mineral resources have been consumed than during man's entire previous existence. This is the measure of the problem we face.

It is estimated that, on the basis of present trends, by 1980 the United States will consume 50 percent more raw materials, 85 percent more nonferrous minerals, 97 percent more mineral fuels, and 133 percent more nonmetallic minerals. These figures are representative of our estimated consumption of all natural resources; only two decades from now.

Our resources are not infinite. Nor is our national appetite. But the time is rapidly approaching, Mr. President, when our needs will outrun our resources if we fail to establish long-range planning for their wise utilization and development. I hope, therefore, that the resources and conservation bill introduced by Senator MURRAY will receive prompt consideration and passage. No Member of this body has been more creative and more courageous in carrying forward the purposes of conservation and development of natural resources than Senator MURRAY. It is a genuine privilege to join in this effort.

Mr. MURRAY. I thank the Senator from West Virginia. I yield the floor.

Resources and Conservation Act of 1960

SPEECH
OF

HON. THOMAS J. DODD

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, August 18, 1959

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, yesterday the distinguished and able Chairman of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs [Mr. MURRAY] introduced a bill which I hope and believe will be an historic landmark in the long struggle for an adequate national policy of development and conservation of our natural resources.

On May 22, in a speech on the Senate floor, I cataloged the critical problems facing our Nation in one natural resource field after another.

We have cut 90 percent of our virgin timber stand in the commercial forest area. The erosion of our soil and the

consequent destruction of agricultural lands has been a national calamity.

Our water supply, once considered unlimited, is now proving inadequate in widespread sections of the country. It is estimated that an expenditure of \$50 billions will be required during the next 15 years if we are to provide adequate water and sewage facilities to our mushrooming urban communities.

Once a large exporter of raw materials, we are now a large importer and are at least partially dependent upon foreign sources for almost every basic metal.

Our consumption of minerals is six times what it was in 1900, and our present rate of consumption will double by 1980.

Unless we embark upon an urgent, comprehensive national program for husbanding our natural resources and developing new sources of supply, we will be unable to meet the needs of the next generation and our national standard of living as well as our military and political strength will begin a steady and irreversible deterioration.

In my remarks of last May, I urged the President to appoint a new commission, similar to the Paley Commission, except that it would be charged with the responsibility for specific legislative recommendations.

There has been no action from the White House. But now the Senate, under the leadership of the Senator from Montana [Mr. MURRAY] is taking the initiative.

I am pleased to have the opportunity to join the Senator from Montana [Mr. MURRAY] and 28 other Senators in co-sponsoring S. 2549. This bill would provide for two important continuing groups to make annual studies and reports on the complete natural resource picture. It provides for a White House Council of Advisers and a Joint Congressional Committee on Resources and Conservation. It envisions a continuing, coordinated attack on all the complex and related problems involved in resource conservation and development. It is a vital piece of legislation, and I hope that we will have congressional action on it at the earliest possible moment so that we can make this new and important advance in the long struggle to preserve the foundation of our national strength and well being, our natural resources.

Senator Murray's Natural Resources and Conservation Bill

SPEECH
OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, August 24, 1959

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I rise to commend the distinguished senior Senator from Montana [Mr. MURRAY] for the outstanding leadership that he

has again manifested in his bill (S. 2549), the proposed Natural Resources and Conservation Act of 1960. I am privileged to be one of the original co-sponsors of this bill which, I am confident, will become a keystone of national policy. In the formulation of this proposal, Senator MURRAY evidences the forward-looking confidence in the future of this Nation that he voiced in his remarks at the time he introduced the measure on August 17, 1959. In discussing the vastly increased requirements for natural resources that will be an inevitable consequence of population growth and rising living standards, Senator MURRAY said:

In the face of this increasing requirement for, and pressure on, natural resources, I am not fearful that we shall fail to meet the Nation's needs. Certainly the United States will have the economic and financial ability for the tasks involved, and we have the skills and competence.

I share Senator MURRAY's confidence in the ability of this Nation to meet its obligations to its citizens, and also to the people of the free world who rely on us, until their own economy matures. I agree, too, with Senator MURRAY's far-sighted reminder that success in fulfilling these purposes requires actions that are both timely and well considered.

The proposed Natural Resources and Conservation Act effectively implements the views and recommendations of recognized authorities in this area of national policy. A few quotations will demonstrate how well the bill accords with the best thinking on the subject.

Dr. John Kenneth Galbraith, professor of economics at Harvard University, in a recent address, has provided us with a condensation of the Paley Commission findings regarding the "gargantuan and growing appetite" for natural resources. Dr. Galbraith said:

Conservationists are unquestionably useful people. And among the many useful services that they have recently rendered has been that of dramatizing the vast appetite which the United States has developed for materials of all kinds. This increase in requirements we now recognize to be exponential. It is the product of a rapidly increasing population and a high and (normally) a rapidly increasing living standard. The one multiplied by the other gives the huge totals with which our minds must contend. The President's Materials Policy Commission emphasized the point by observing that our consumption of raw materials comes to about half that of the non-Communist lands although we have but 10 percent of the population, and that since World War I our consumption of most materials has exceeded that of all mankind throughout all history before the conflict.

This quotation bears out Senator MURRAY's appraisal of the need for timely action, and the following quotation from testimony before the Finance Committee of the Senate bears out the confidence that the United States has financial ability to meet conservation needs. On April 18, 1958, Dr. Sumner H. Slichter of Harvard University said:

The United States is a growing country, with its population rising by about 3 million a year, and with its output growing at a normal rate of about \$14 billion a year or

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more. Such a growing economy needs more and better schools, roads, recreation areas, and projects for the development of its resources. If the economy were to succeed in achieving full capacity operation by the early fall of 1959, the gross national product should be around \$470 billion a year, or about \$45 billion above the present (1958) rate. Certainly a substantial part of this increase of \$45 billion in the gross national product should go for much-needed public works of various sorts.

The United States has, in fact, attained and surpassed the \$470 billion rate of gross national product foretold by Dr. Slichter. Regrettably, however, no part of the increase in gross national product is being invested in the much-needed public works. Failure to make this investment in America is the blight of the administration policy of no new starts. Sterilizing effects of this blight are evident today, and they will mar the Nation's countryside for decades to come.

Prof. Gilbert F. White, of the University of Chicago, distinguished as a scientist, educator, and natural resources planner, has pointed out that, in the long run, one of the basic deficiencies in natural resources and conservation activities is "lack of understanding of national aims and, consequently, of national means as well." Professor White continues:

So long as this is diffuse, we cannot expect any amount of organizational legerdemain or budgetary management to more

than palliate the difficulties. If we seem confused in the field of defense where there at least seems no doubt that we wish to protect and preserve the United States, how much more complex is the case of natural resources where we are not certain as to what we are to conserve? We are not certain that we want to develop all of our waterpower or to save all of our soil, or how much oil, if any, we should keep underground, or whether we should curb our appetite for lead in gas, and iron in tail fins. Having already and of necessity modified the web of nature, we do not know how far is too far in directing our changes in it.

In recent years we have had a generous review of both policies and administration. Raw materials situations have been assessed; water policy has been proposed; a new attack has been made upon problems of recreation. An important element which has been lacking is a general examination of national aims within the range of politically possible means of achieving them, and of the probable impacts of each possible program.

Professor White's conclusion is directed straight at the provisions of S. 2549, the natural resources and conservation bill. Professor White said:

Of the numerous organizational changes that may be in order, none seem more promising of benefits to the whole process of preserving or reforming the American landscape than those which promote a continuing appraisal of the probable results of following the choices which are open.

This is the essence of Senator Murray's proposal for a Council of Resources and Conservation Advisers to prepare

annually the Resources and Conservation Report of the President, and the joint committee of the Congress that would give continuing attention to resource development, utilization, and conservation.

In conclusion I desire to say that I think it is particularly appropriate that I should be given permission very courteously to make these remarks about conservation by the distinguished junior Senator from Pennsylvania. If I am not mistaken, one of the greatest conservationists in the history of this country came from the State of Pennsylvania and was given to the Nation by the State of Pennsylvania. I refer to the illustrious ex-Governor of Pennsylvania, a man who was the first Chief Forester of the United States, Gifford Pinchot, and I believe and feel that if Gifford Pinchot were with us today, he would support Senator MURRAY's National Resources and Conservation Act.

I thank the Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. SCOTT. I am delighted to yield and am much pleased that the Senator has brought in the name of a very famous Governor of our State, a great forester and a famous conservationist.

Mr. NEUBERGER. We are very proud in the Pacific Northwest, that one of the most beautiful national forests in the Cascade Mountains carries the name of Gifford Pinchot and is known as the Gifford Pinchot National Forest.

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